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**A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON  
THE NATIONS OF SOUTH ASIA**  
*(Received in July 1984)*

*August 1984*

*Author: Elizabeth R. Curtiss*

PREFACE

This bibliography continues the monthly series compiling analytic material on the nations of South Asia. The countries included are: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. This selective reference work is intended to support research on the foreign relations, governments, politics, and economies of the nations of South Asia. Material included is both retrospective and current, and represents works received, cataloged, or indexed, in July 1984.

Citations are arranged geographically and listed alphabetically by author within each country section. Works bearing on or analyzing more than one nation are entered under each country concerned. Where citations lack an accompanying abstract, the work was not on hand at the time of this issue; an abstract will be included when the work is received.

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A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY  
OF THE NATIONS OF SOUTH ASIA  
(Received in July 1984)

AFGHANISTAN

Broxup, Marie. "Afghanistan Update." Central Asian Survey, vol. 2 (September 1983), p. 139.

Today's Afghan mujahiddin surpass the Central Asian basmachi of the 1920s in both political and military sophistication. Contact with the Soviet/Kabul military forces has increased civilian political sensitivity as well, reinforcing their inclination to assist the freedom fighters. The guerrillas themselves have a good understanding of the weapons they use, which are comparatively better than those available to the basmachi. Intelligence, communication, and strategic skills are other mujahiddin assets. The brutality of the Kabul/Moscow strategy shows no sign of abating, suggesting that all sides have dug in for a long conflict.  
(notes)

Buob, Jacques. "Afghanistan: La Methode Tchernenko (Afghanistan: The Chernenko Method)." L'Express, 20 July 1984, p. 38. (in French)

Yuri Andropov, the late President of the Soviet Union, threw his support behind a KGB strategy of subversive warfare, making heavy use of bribery and harrassment of villages. Tribal disputes were a major opportunity for the government to ingratiate itself with segments of the population, and few frontal assaults were launched against the guerrilla fighters. A key development in this strategy was the ceasefire concluded with Panjsher commander Ahmed Shah Massoud. However, since Andropov's death, his successor, Constantine Chernenko, has made unprecedeted increases in both the number of Soviet military personnel and quality of weapons committed to the war in Afghanistan. Recently two major frontal assaults have been waged simultaneously, in Herat and Panjsher. The mujahiddin have suffered setbacks, without being completely defeated, and have lost the freedom of movement which they previously enjoyed in both strongholds.

Iyer, Pico, and Brelis, Dean. "Caravans on Moonless Nights." Time, 11 June 1984, p. 38.

"The CIA spends around \$75 million a year supplying the rebels with grenades, RPG-7 rocket launchers and portable surface-to-air missiles, as well as with radio equipment and medicines." Zbigniew Brzezinski began this pipeline during his tenure as National Security Advisor, forging a network of contacts in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan. Emigrant Afghans have been recruited to return to southwest Asia with money and supplies as well as important information. Through these agents, mujahiddin were warned that US satellite data predicted a major assault on the Panjsher in April. "The pipeline is probably working at close to its capacity, and the CIA is determined not to upset its delicate system." For that reason, the Agency has refused to increase the quantity or quality of US aid to the Afghan rebels. In May, however, the House of

Representatives passed a bill that would make Pakistan one of five countries where more than six military advisors may be stationed.

Mathur, Girish. New Afghanistan. New Delhi: Sterling, 1983, 147 pp.

Mathur, a strongly pro-Soviet correspondent for the Indian newspapers, Blitz and The Daily, has researched and recorded Moscow's version of 20th century trends in Afghanistan. Mathur's thesis is that Hafizullah Amin suffered from tribal hatreds which expanded to psychopathic dimensions after he lost his bid for a seat in the first parliament. Neither good nor bad in character, but hopelessly deranged, Amin became the tool of the Americans who exploited his need for revenge. Mathur makes great use of Selig Harrison's contention that the 1978 coup was provoked by the Shah of Iran's support for anti-regime activities. Because they were forced to defend the concessions they had already won from the king and religious leaders, the left wing of the government became rigidly polarized in response to the "reactionaries." (notes)

#### BANGLADESH

"Defusing the Fence." Asiaweek, 29 June 1984, p. 6.

On 10 June, talks were held between the Indian and Bangladeshi border forces who face each other and occasionally exchange fire as India attempts to construct a fence along their common border. The Punjab crisis may have become New Delhi's opportunity to suspend the project because of prohibitive costs. The final bill would be at least \$3.5 billion, an amount which India could probably not afford. An additional cost is the need to protect laborers with the Border Security Force (BSF), India's best mobile paramilitary unit. The BSF, however, are often needed to quell disturbances inside the country.

Economist, The. "Of the Plight of the Urban Middle Class." Bangladesh Today, 16 May 1984, p. 34.

Urban middle class consumers have experienced a rapidly rising cost of living for several reasons. The thaka has fallen against the strong US dollar, raising the cost of the many necessities which must be imported. Bangladesh's money supply has been expanding. Most importantly, Dhaka refuses to establish across-the-board price controls, leaving hoarders and speculators a free hand in controlling market inequities. Shopkeepers have been instructed to post lists of average prices, but no one has been prosecuted for charging more than the amount displayed. This scathing article was written under the untraceable pen name of "The Economist."

Nasser, Moinuddin. "The Rohingyas Are Still Waiting." Bangladesh Today, April 1984, p. 28.

After centuries of harrassment by Burma's Buddhist government and population, Muslims of Arakan have been taking shelter inside Bangladesh intermittently for 40 years. Known as Rohingyas some members of this minority have also organized themselves into a complex, shifting network of liberation fighters. Dhaka fears that the Rohingyas will establish guerrilla

bases just inside Bangladesh unless Burma takes steps to redress some of the minority's grievances.

Tanis. "The Middle-East-Wallas in Danger." Bangladesh Illustrated Weekly, May 1984, p. 48.

Bangladeshis who work in the Middle East have met declining demand for the unskilled jobs they fill. Those Arab countries which have not altogether banned Bangladeshi guestworkers have increased detection of illegal entrants, forcing jobseekers to sign up with contractors inside Bangladesh. Many of these contractors are unscrupulous operators who abandon their "employees" in the Middle East without documents to find work or funds to return home. This editorial calls for government actions against such contractors.

#### INDIA

Abraham, Amrita. "Carnage Which Had to Happen." Economic and Political Weekly, vol. XIX (19 May 1984), p. 828.

Interviews with witnesses and victims have revealed that the anti-Muslim riots of Bhiwandi were the work of the militant organization, Shiv Sena, and not a widespread outpouring of anti-Muslim sentiments. The initial attacks appeared to be a well-planned operation. Immediately thereafter, a series of small attacks arose spontaneously, and the two waves merged into retaliatory attacks by both Hindus and Muslims as they faced each other near the center of town. "Rioting in the sense of arbitrary attacks of large numbers of people rampaging through the streets was so conspicuously absent, that, as a home official says, it could only be explained by the fact that it was Shiv Sena violence directed at the Muslims; the Hindu community at large was passive and the Muslim retaliation was low. . ." Almost all victims, both of mob violence and of police shootings, were Muslims.

Ahmed, Imtiaz. "Political Economy of Communalism in Contemporary India." Economic and Political Weekly, vol. XIX (2 June 1984), p. 903.

Communal rioting, which is generally considered a sign of India's weakness, may actually reflect progress in its dynamic social, economic, and political complexities. Local conditions rather than over-arching communal identities have been crucial factors in causing recent conflagrations. These disturbances have been more sustained, more murderous, and more focused than the unrest which accompanied the independence movement. This "rioting" has actually been a disguise for retaliation against newly-prosperous Muslims who have attempted to achieve leadership, investment, and property-owning opportunities not traditionally associated with the Muslim community. The involvement of Scheduled Castes in the unrest suggests that preservation of the purity of Hinduism is not the primary motivator. This article opens important new ground in analysing communal unrest in India.

Ali, Salamat. "A Film Star Hermit Poses Problems for the Congress." Far Eastern Economic Review, 12 July 1984, p. 30.

Andhra Pradesh, in south India, has spawned a major political phenomenon in Chief Minister N. T. Rama Rao, who won his fame playing Hindu deities in Telugu-language films. Rama Rao has proven to be intolerant of the views of those who disagree with him, and impervious to outside influence. His son-in-law is his major advisor. Rama Rao makes major use of Hindu symbolism, but has offended many conservative Hindus with his plans to enlarge the Tirupathi Temple into a "Hindu Vatican." Rama Rao is also a practical politician who has raised school attendance by offering free lunches, and kept low prices on rice sold by the state. His refusal to raise official rates for electricity has benefitted many farm families. Rama Rao's arbitrary enforcement of anti-corruption statutes against national civil servants has made them anxious to avoid service in Andhra Pradesh.

Banerji, D. "Breakdown of Public Health System." Economic and Political Weekly, vol. XIX (2 June 1984), p. 881.

The British empire's Indian Medical Service produced excellent public health officers by designing a structure which would maximize contact with the common patients. Independent India has scrapped that structure. Generalists of the Indian Administrative Service have been given high posts in the new Central Health Service (CHS), and have sought advice from teaching doctors rather than those whose careers have been spent among India's urban and rural poor. Today the lack of outstanding names in public health in India is paralleled by the rampant spread of communicable diseases. CHS has not succeeded in gathering statistics about the problems, possibly because such information would raise serious questions about its own competence. Nor do the states have complementary health systems to fill the gaps. The entire system needs restructuring to give increased responsibility for those doctors who have devoted their lives to practical applications of public health theories.

Chithelen, Ignatius. "Unlearnt Lessons of 1970." Economic and Political Weekly, vol. XIX (19 May 1984), p. 826.

During the 1970s, Shiv Sena, an extremist group which played an instrumental role in the Bhiwandi riots of 1970, lost its credibility by supporting Congress-I in the Emergency. Corruption throughout its organization also weakened its public standing. Beginning in the late 1970s, Shiv Sena broadened its rhetoric to include pro-Hindu as well as pro-Maharashtrian themes, and broadened its political support to include opposition parties. Consequently, officials have avoided uttering words of caution as Shiv Sena escalated the venom of its anti-Muslim rhetoric. In the 1984 riots, police shooting killed nine Muslims, but no Hindus, hinting that the police have become part of Shiv Sena's network. Much of the "rioting" appears to have been motivated by self-interest. Unemployed teenagers carted off consumer goods, and real estate developers put the torch to squatter slums occupying prime urban property. Hindu powerloom operators may also have applied selective violence against their Muslim counterparts.

Gupta, Shekhar. "Operation Bluestar." India Today, 30 June 1984, p. 18.

In addition to a detailed description of the Army operation to retake the Sikh Golden Temple in Amritsar, this article presents a map of the temple complex and interviews with chief military commanders. Units and unit commanders are named in this comprehensive review of India's most tragic hour.

India (Republic). White Paper on the Punjab Agitation. New Delhi: Government of India, 1984, 170 pp.

Indian criticism of this document has mentioned its lack of analytic content, as well as its omission of historical discussion about the Sikhs in India and the special character of the Punjab. The white paper also avoids explaining the full range of options which were open to government and Akali Dal negotiators at various stages in the 4-year talks. Instead, the authors have referred to expatriot Sikh and Pakistani influences, without explaining how these outsiders were able to build a following in India's fiercely-independent Sikh community. This white paper consistently affiliates the Akali Dal, an established political party holding statewide office, with religious extremists--even though the narrative observes at several points that extremists were threatening the Akali Dal negotiators. However, the extensive appendices make this a valuable reference aid. Topics in the appendices include the original Akali Dal demands presented in 1981, the amended demands, dates and participants in the negotiations, and remarks by the home minister and prime minister. (appendices, map, notes, photographs)

Kumar, Pramod, Sharma, Manmohan, Sood, Atul, and Handa, Ashwani. Punjab Crisis: Context and Trends. Chandigarh: Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development, 1984, 171 pp.

The majority of the Akali Dal's demands reflect the economic interests of the most prosperous of Punjab's Sikh landowners. This group profited enormously from the Green Revolution, but when diminishing returns set in, they were unable to enhance their revenues by tightening control over supply and distribution channels. These functions, along with industrial investment, had long since become associated with the urban merchants, who were mostly Hindus. The large landowners were able to attract less prosperous farmers into their political organization through use of communal symbolism. Sikh farm laborers were enticed with a simultaneous call for a ban on migratory labor, most of which was Hindus from neighboring Haryana. However, after 40 years of such communal and economic interpenetration, tensions cannot be lessened without attention to both types of grievances. This book makes a major contribution to the literature on the crisis, not least because of its thorough scholarship in supporting documentation. (appendices, bibliography, index, notes)

Mukherji, Partha N. From Left Extremism to Electoral Politics: Naxalite Participation in Elections. New Delhi: Manohar, 1983, 186 pp.

Before 1977 the Communist Party of India-Marxist-Leninist (CPI-ML) had attempted to foment violent revolution among the Naxalbari tribes of

India's northeast. The Congress-I lost control of the federal parliament, and the CPI-ML decided to negotiate with the new Janata government for the right to seek seats in upcoming state elections. Social scientists, in two teams of four interviewers, traversed a single state district where a jailed CPI-ML leader was being promoted by supporters for the assembly seat. The interviewers wanted to see whether the network of associations and aspirations which had formed during the Naxalite uprising would resurface in a shape appropriate to electoral politics. The lively anecdotes and political and economic grievances which emerged in the discussions make it clear why the prisoner won his seat.

Nations, Richard. "The Devil's Alternative." Far Eastern Economic Review, 12 July 1984, p. 25.

The successive governments of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi have destroyed the once-enviable "steel frame" of the Indian government: the civil service, the police services, and the independent judiciary. Only the army has retained its morale, being somehow sheltered from the arbitrary hirings, firings, and promotions which have plagued the rest of government. However, the supercession of Lt. General S.K. Sinha as Chief of Army Staff in 1983, and increasing deployment in civil disturbances where the police cannot be considered unbiased in duty, has eroded army morale as well. Most of this article reviews the recent rise of communal violence and regionalism. A sidebar relates President Gianni Zail Singh's relations with the late Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale. (map)

Ram, Mohan. "The Punjab Vacuum." Far Eastern Economic Review, 5 July 1984, p. 24.

In the aftermath of the Indian Army assault on the Golden Temple of the Sikhs, tensions remain high and are aggravated by the continuing military presence throughout the Punjab. However, because many Punjabis fear a bloodbath if the Army should withdraw, the occupation is considered the lesser of the two evils. By the way it chose to conduct the siege and occupation of the Golden Temple, as well as the timing, the central government has eliminated moderate groups with whom negotiations might have been established. Moderate leaders surrendered as soon as the complex was seized, while extremists mostly died fighting. Those extremists who survive are disorganized and cannot modify their positions without losing their followers. Outside of the Sikh community, Indians, especially Hindus, are delighted with the military move. Some Hindus celebrated with festival cakes, until soldiers had to be forbidden to accept so much as a drink of water from civilians. Prime Minister Gandhi may well find her electoral position strengthened as a result of her action against the Sikh extremists in the Punjab.

Ram, Mohan. "Regional Parties Thrive But Cannot Form Links." Far Eastern Economic Review, 12 July 1984, p. 28.

For the first time in its history, India faces the possibility of a deadlocked parliament and coalition government following the upcoming elections. Opposition parties have divided into two coalitions: the National Democratic Alliance is more conservative and Hindu-oriented,

consisting of the Lok Dal (26 seats currently) and Bharatiya Janata Party (16 seats currently). The more leftist United Front includes the Janata Party of Karnataka (16 seats currently), the Congress-S (6 seats currently), Democratic Socialist Party (no seats), and Janwadi (2 seats currently). India's largest opposition party, however, is the Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPM), which is based in West Bengal and Tripura and has 36 seats in the current Lok Sabha. CPM cooperates closely with the Communist Party of India, which holds 13 seats. Indira Gandhi's electoral hopes to have been further constrained by the rise of regional parties, especially the All-India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagan (AIADMK) of Tamil Nadu (3 seats currently), the National Conference of Jammu and Kashmir (2 seats currently) and the Telugu Desam of Andhra Pradesh (2 seats currently). The makeshift party of Maneka Gandhi, widow of the prime minister's late son, Sanjay, has also won several by-elections in the family stronghold of Uttar Pradesh. In the nation's most dramatic contest, Maneka herself is fighting brother-in-law Rajiv Gandhi for his current constituency.

Rama Rao, R. Self-Reliance and Security: Role of Defence Production. New Delhi: Birla Institute of Scientific Research, Economic Research Division: Radiant, 1984, 229 pp.

Nations which have strong neighbors and which do not endeavor to protect themselves through their own defense production, will tempt their stronger neighbors to attack them. India, for instance, has found itself under invasion whenever Pakistan has received external aid approaching the level currently coming from the United States. Using the infrastructure left by the British, India has undertaken a moderate but necessary program for arming itself. The final two chapters of this otherwise rhetorical book explain what India produces, where it is made, and at what cost. (appendices, index, glossary, notes, tables)

Sebastian, P.A. "Deaths in Police Custody." Economic and Political Weekly, vol. XIX (17 March 1984), p. 447.

The Committee for the Protection of Democratic Rights, an Indian human rights organization, has charged that over 4 years, 18 young men in good health died of "severe external injuries" following lock-up for petty crimes. Various courts have avoided assigning responsibility to the police, either by refusing to "issue general orders that the state perform its duty," or by insisting that only individuals specifically aggrieved are entitled to bring suit. However, family and friends of one victim withdrew their cases amidst accusations of bribe-taking by another family member. In another case, a victim's brother found he could not afford the legal costs and wages lost during frequent delays. The Supreme Court and lower courts have also ducked additional opportunities for law enforcement by raising legal quibbles over the relevance or irrelevance of various articles of India's Constitution.

Sen, P. "A Tale of Two Visitors." Bangladesh Today, March 1984, p. 15.

While Soviet Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov was in India selling weapons, Chinese President Lee Shen Yan (Li Xiannian) was in Pakistan reaffirming

the subcontinent's other major defense relationship. In contrast to the ample publicity surrounding the Ustinov visit in India, the visit of the Chinese chief of state to Pakistan was almost completely unremarked in the regional or international press.

Sethna, H.N., Ramanna, R., Srinivasan, M.R., Phadke, A.V., Prasad, A.N., and Sunder Ranaj, N.S. "Review of Indian Experience in Planning of Development of Nuclear power and Fuel Cycle Programme." Bhagirath, April 1983, p. 55.

Since 1948 India's nuclear energy and technology program has aimed at creating a full range of nuclear-powered services, including medical and agricultural applications. The nuclear energy program has attempted to supplement the coal, oil, and gas whose short supply in appropriate forms is one of India's greatest obstacles to economic expansion. Various plants, projects, and output are listed, and nuclear mining projects and improving Indian engineering skills are discussed.

Singh, Rajendra. Organization and Administration in the Indian Army. New Delhi: Army Educational Stores, 1980, 442 pp.

The author, a retired army brigadier, has updated a book first introduced in 1952, which consists of tables explaining the duties of various positions in the branches of the Indian Army. There are chapters clarifying such matters as how to mobilize different types of transportation, military police duties, and methods of supply and care for personnel under war conditions. The opening chapters discuss the ranks of the various sections of the Army. (index, tables)

The Supersession: Spotlight on Lt. General S.K. Sinha: "His Brilliance Was His Undoing." Patna: Parijat Prakashan, 1984, 128 pp.

This collection of periodical articles concludes that the appointment of India's current Chief of Army Staff, Lt. Gen. A.S. Vaidya, reflects government contempt for S.K. Sinha, a more senior officer who had, however, continually called for better pay and more professionalism in the military. Another factor which may have worked against Sinha was his father's longstanding association with Jayaprakash Narayan, who was active against the Emergency in support of the Janata Party. Sinha also called on government to take its military advice from military officers and elected politicians, rather than the civil servants who are known to be closest to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

Thapur, Romesh. "Punjab: Where Are We?" Economic and Political Weekly, vol. XIX (19 May 1984), p. 825.

Recent unrest in the Punjab has exposed failings in three government organizations: the Central Reserve Police, the Border Security Forces, and the intelligence apparatus. The two paramilitary services were unable to neutralize the hit-and-run terrorists who targeted Hindus and moderate Sikhs, while the intelligence services failed to deliver forewarning of calamitous events before they erupted into violence. The latter failure could be ascribed to the nepotistic practice of extending jobs to friends

and family of the political elite, and by the tendency of the intelligence agencies to serve as a dumping ground for internationally minded intellectuals, more obsessed with abstract theorizing and foreign tours of duty, than with running covert operations. In an unpublished interview, an advisor to PM Indira Gandhi also contended that the villages of Fazilka and Abohar, which have been offered to Haryana in return for its share of Chandigarh, are contiguous to that state; in fact they lie completely within Punjab.

Thapur, Romesh. "Too Many Guns." Economic and Political Weekly, vol. XIX (2 June 1984), p. 871.

"For many years, the Customs authorities have been reporting a solid importation of guns by returning Indians, and by non-residents anxious to serve their relations. . . . We were. . . too obsessed by the desire of the politicians to be adequately 'armed,' particularly after the lumpen mobilization indulged in by the late Sanjay Gandhi. . . . The thought does occur. . . that this sub-continent is ideal for arms smuggling, despite the paraphernalia of Coast Guards and what have you. . . . The Punjab developments. . . highlight the theme that there are too many guns, licensed and unlicensed, for safety. . . . The incompetence of those who govern is underlined by the easy way in which every gangster, thief, and incendiary is labelled 'extremist.' Even clear cases of old vendettas, launched under the present political confusion, get lumped with extremism."

Zhegalov, Leonid. "Who's Behind Sikh Extremism?" New Times, July 1984, p. 24.

This Moscow-based publication contends that Sikh extremists in the Golden Temple were directed and supplied weapons by Pakistan and the Central Intelligence Agency. The CIA is said to run four training camps in Pakistan, and many of the captured weapons, similar to those used by Afghan resistance forces, are of Pakistani and Chinese origin.

#### NEPAL

Sen Gupta, Bhabani. "Winds of Change." India Today, 30 June 1984, p. 66.

Although Nepal's King Birendra does not welcome the competition he would have from a strong prime minister, he has begun loosening his control of Nepal's government. The fundamental rights listed in the Constitution remain suspended, but for the first time all Nepalese have a vote to cast in elections for the parliament. The king also maintains private communication with the banned Nepalese Congress Party, which is the main organization calling for full constitutional democracy. Last year, the government of Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa was forced from office following a no-confidence vote in parliament. Thapa claims he allowed his own ouster in order for parliament to increase its institutional strength. The new prime minister, Lokendra Bahadur Chand, emphasizes the need for efficient distribution of the fruits of development.

## PAKISTAN

Khayyam, Omar. "New Worries for President Zia-ul-Haq." Bangladesh Today, March 1984, p. 15.

Agitation against President Ziaul Haq's ban on student unions has surprised everyone by surpassing last fall's Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) in resilience and hostility. "All student fronts, both left and right, have joined the agitation. Islami-Jamiat-e-Tolba, until recently a staunch pro-Zia group, is now spearheading the agitation campaign in the Punjab. In the middle of March, in Peshawar, Tolba supporters almost succeeded in disrupting a public meeting addressed by President Zia himself. In front of an embarrassed Zia, the police attacked rioting students and arrested many of their leaders who had chanted insulting slogans. Similar incidents took place in Lahore and Karachi." Zia has not altered his anti-union stand, possibly because the absence of Benazir Bhutto and growing dissension within MRD make him feel more secure in his overall position.

Haqqani, Husain. "Zia's Seven-Year Itch." Far Eastern Economic Review, 19 July 1984, p. 23.

General Mohammed Ziaul Haq rules by default. Although Pakistan's self-proclaimed president had more support in earlier years, his opponents are also unable to count on their previous ability to stir emotions against him. Several opposition leaders have privately admitted to liking the Chief Martial Law Administrator, although remaining opposed to martial law itself. However, Zia's personal standing has suffered erosion, because his devout and upright character has not prevented him from appointing or continuing officials whose conduct falls outside "Islamic standards." Zia's aversion to risk-taking seems to have become an aversion to removing unworthy associates. It is unclear what Zia's new "Islamic democracy" will be. The delay in clarification can probably be attributed to the same reluctance to alter the status quo, since all scenarios hold some risk of losing power or temporary instability.

Haqqani, Husain. "Spending Out of a Lull." Far Eastern Economic Review, 19 July 1984, p. 92.

Pakistan has a huge budget deficit in the wake of the worst economic year since Ziaul Haq seized power in 1977. The new 5-year plan, announced in June, envisages a four percent increase in development spending and eliminates legal preconditions for much private investment. However, entrepreneurs are wary of election year gimmickry, and are postponing commitments of money until the government process has been fully resolved. Meanwhile, the current budget allots 76.2 percent of its outflow to defense and debt service obligations, leaving little for the rural areas and urban improvement.

Haqqani, Husain. "The Watcher in the Wings." Far Eastern Economic Review, 21 June 1984, p. 16.

The few Sikhs remaining in Pakistan since partition have been keeping quiet about the troubles facing their brethren in India's Punjab. Their silence reinforces the Pakistani government claim that it has not contributed, directly or indirectly, to the outbreak of communalism in India's Sikh areas. Although the Indian government contends two Pakistanis were found dead after the Army recaptured the Golden Temple, Pakistan has not received diplomatic notification and identification of the deceased. Until India provides specifics, Islamabad regards the unsubstantiated report as perpetrated in New Delhi to back the repeated charges of infiltration issued by Prime Minister Gandhi and her son, Rajiv.

Haqqani, Husain. "Speak No More." Far Eastern Economic Review, 21 June 1984, p. 18.

President Mohammed Ziaul Haq has banned press coverage of the activities of political parties, whom he accuses of spreading confusion among the public. The ban came as several key questions were crystalizing in the political debate, including whether the upcoming election would be fought on the basis of parties, and whether Zia would ask the voters to approve a referendum changing to a presidential style of government. The current suspended Constitution, formulated in 1973, has prime ministers drawn from the party which dominates in Parliament. Opposition spokespeople accuse Zia of prolonging the confusion himself, if not creating it, by raising but refusing to answer questions about the constitution. The ban may eventually contribute to more aggressive expressions of dissatisfaction with the government, which seems lately less interested in self-examination than in self-justification.

#### SRI LANKA

De Silva, Mervyn. "The Israel Imbroglio." India Today, 30 June 1984, p. 81.

The United States Embassy in Colombo recently opened an Israeli interests section to provide certain "specialized consultancy services," meaning anti-terrorist training from Mossad, the Israeli intelligence service. The Muslim minority in the eastern provinces, who have not so far been active against the Sinhalese majority, immediately objected on the grounds that their religious sensibilities were outraged. Muslims participate in all Sri Lanka's political parties, including the United National Party (UNP), whose secretary joined in the outburst. Also reacting negatively were the Arab states, which Sri Lanka has been carefully courting since 1971. Three new Arab banks in Colombo testify to the increase in Middle Eastern aid, and that overseas workers are Sri Lanka's second-highest source of foreign exchange. The largest money-earner, tea, is sold heavily in Arab states.

"Anti-Tamil Riots and the Political Crisis in Sri Lanka." Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, vol. 16 (January-February 1984), p. 27.

Sri Lankan leftist parties lost their ability to organize along economic rather than communal lines in the late 1960s when they formed an alliance with the then-ruling Sri Lanka Freedom Party. At the same time, the rapidly growing state enterprises were organized by unions which disassociated themselves from the left in favor of accommodation with whatever party came to power. A second impetus for communalism was created when Sinhalese merchants found themselves unable to compete with the superior overseas networks backing Tamil merchants, even though every other aspect of the economy which had traditional Tamil dominance had been subjected to state controls. J. R. Jayewardene's "open market" economic policies have further eroded the competitive position of the Sinhalese merchants.

de Sylva, Mervyn. "Round-Table Yawn." Far Eastern Economic Review, 21 June 1984, p. 46.

Even members of the government concede that no progress is being made at the "all party round table talks" convened after last summer's riots. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party of former Prime Minister Srimivo Bandaranaike, has left the talks, but the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), which represents the Tamils in parliament, refuses to leave. TULF fears being accused of sabotaging the talks if they walk out. However, TULF leaders will not participate in the subcommittees formed through the talks, saying that the agendas and assignment to committees are based on policy assumptions which ought to be the subject of negotiation within the committees.